

THE EVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTION OF TRUSTS

Before the Brooklyn Co-operative club, which meets at the home of Eugene V. Brewster, Rev. Charles H. Vail recently spoke on the "Evolution and Revolution of Trusts." From the address the following passages are taken:

"In order to thoroughly understand the revolution of industry which the trusts have effected, we need to trace the processes of industrial evolution which have culminated in these great organizations of capital. Industry has passed through several stages of development. Beginning with the handicraft stage of the middle ages it passed through the manufacturing stage and on into the factory stage which began in the last third of the eighteenth century. This last period was introduced by a series of inventions and improvements which completely revolutionized industry. The production of this period, being based upon mechanical invention and a far-reaching division of labor, is essentially social production. The change in the form of production which resulted from the industrial revolution wrought the downfall of the small producer and reduced the once independent handicraftsman to the level of a wage slave. The result of turning the limited implements of production into mighty powers, precluded individual ownership on the part of the workers. Not only had the tools become social in character; that is, such as could only be operated by co-operative labor, but the vast cost of the new implements rendered their possession by the laborers impossible. This condition necessarily gave rise to the capitalist class, the owners of the instruments of production. As a result of this appropriation of the means of livelihood the laborers were reduced to servitude and dependence.

"When the tools first became social in character they were owned by individual capitalists. But the development of industry soon necessitated the massing of large capital, and as it became difficult for the individual to furnish the requisite means the joint stock company arose. The next phase of this evolution was the union of these companies into trusts. The rapid trustification of industry during the last few years has been phenomenal. The trust, however, is a perfectly natural and logical outcome of competitive industry. It is the result of the efficiency of capital in large masses. Associated capital and machinery are requisite to efficient and economical production. These great organizations of capital make possible the saving of labor by dispensing with the services of armies of advertisers, drummers, canvassers, clerks, etc., who only exist for the purpose of attracting the attention of the public to various competing firms.

"The reason why the trust is regarded by many as an evil is because society, as at present constituted, is not benefited by all this economy in production and distribution. The saving thus effected goes into the pockets of the capitalists who have monopolized the control of industry. If the organization of industry is effective in reducing the cost of production, and society as a whole is not benefited by the improved method, the trouble is not with the principle of combination but with its private ownership and control. If the people wish to enjoy the benefits of the trusts they must own them. As the principle of combination, which is the embodiment of the trust, is sound, it ought to be extended to the whole social order. We protest, however, against leaving such an effective principle in the hands of private individuals to be exploited for private profit. We demand that every industry shall be systematized and organized; in other words, trustified; and we further demand that all industries shall be collectively owned and operated for the benefit of all the people. When the trust is socialized the evils which result from private ownership will disappear, leaving only the benefits which result from co-operation. Socialists, then,

seek to perfect the trust, extend it and utilize it for the benefit of all.

"The revolution of industry wrought by the evolution of trusts is resulting in the downfall of the middle class of small producers and distributors, just as the introduction of the machine wrought the downfall of hand labor. As the laborers cried out against the machine, so the middle class are crying out against the trust. But the trust, like the machine, is the natural product of industrial evolution. The trust is the great labor displacer used by big capitalists in eliminating the small fry. It is no wonder then that this class of small producers should cry, 'Down with the trusts.' To succeed they must have the aid of the laboring class, and so have endeavored to beguile the workers into supporting this middle-class policy. It is the old trick of using the working class as a tool to fight the battles of the masters. But fortunately the working class is awakening to its own interests, and perceives that this denunciation, by the middle class, of the trust, is not in behalf of labor, however loud the professions, but in behalf of its own existence. This outcry does not mean the betterment of labor. The tools of production today are social and can only be operated by co-operative labor. This fact precludes the possibility of individual ownership of the tools by the laborers. The destruction of the trusts, then, does not mean that the instruments of production can be owned by the laborers; it only means that these instruments could then be owned by smaller combinations of capital; that is, by the middle class.

"If the middle-class program were carried out it would simply mean an increase in the number of exploiters. Labor would still be dependent, the same as now, upon those who own the means of production. Is there anyone so foolish as to contend that labor would be better off by increasing the number of parasites? The whole anti-trust movement is in the interest of the class of small proprietors who are being pinched by modern industry. The triumph of this class would in no way improve the lot of the workers, they would still be non-possessing dependents whose labor-power would be bought in the open market at its competitive value. The method of the small employer is precisely like that of the large, and the smaller the field of operation the more profit he must extract from labor in order to live in idleness. The laboring class, then, are not interested in the preservation of the middle class and their wasteful system of industrial competition. The very fact that competition is being supplanted by combination, evidences that the former is wasteful and injurious. The middle-class policy is absurd. There is no possibility of returning to any of the stages out of which we have evolved. Nothing could be more Utopian than the free competition of the past. That condition has forever passed away into innocuous desuetude. The passing of industry from the hand-stage into the era of social organized labor meant the death of the old competitive order. Monopoly has come and come to stay—the people must own the trusts or the trusts will own the people.

"We welcome the trust, not as a finality but as a step toward Socialism. The trust is doing excellent work in organizing industry and preparing the way for the co-operative commonwealth. It is a pioneer of progress—an unconscious forerunner of Socialism. As the trusts are social instruments, they should be owned in common. This is the only way to abolish the incongruity between social production and capitalist appropriation. The place of the present despotic system of industry we propose a social democracy. Social or industrial democracy is in the line of economic evolution, and is certain of attainment. Every careful discernor of the times knows that the social revolution is at hand. Every vote cast for Socialism hastens the day of economic emancipation."

France

The men and women employed in shops in Paris have at last formed a union. They complain that though nominally they are supposed to leave at 8 in the evening, yet in many cases they have to stay much later. The shopmen and shopwomen have much to complain of; their hours are long, their food bad, and, if they live in the house, their sleeping accommodation is detestable, and the women are subject to other perils which are not exaggerated in Zola's "Le Bonheur des Dames." The position of the men and women employed in the Socialist stores in Belgium seems to be very good, and it would be advisable if similar stores could be started

There is a strike at Carmaux among the miners, and they are having a very hard fight with the masters.

The Assumptionist Fathers have been ordered by the Pope to give up their scurrilous newspaper, La Croix. So they have obeyed his Holiness' command, not by discontinuing the paper, but by selling it to a syndicate. And this is a sample of obedience to the Pope's orders.

Summer is here, but thousands of the city children will not see nature this summer, except when it rains, or when the sun gets at a proper angle to shine down in their alley.

RALLYING SONG

Inscribed to S. D. P. Branches
By H. S. Geneva Lake

The storm is on us, ship ahoy!
Rally, boys, rally!
But never mind the sly decoy,
Rally, rally, rally.
Our ship is raked on all her sides,
Sail on, sail on, whatever betides,
Rally, boys, rally.
The night is dark, the stars are few,
Rally, boys, rally!
These crises, they are never new,
Rally, rally, rally.
Our captain, crew, all hands on deck,
The light is there, though but a speck,
Rally, boys, rally.

The storm will rage, no matter, though,
Rally, boys, rally!
We have the commonwealth in tow,
Rally, rally, rally.
Around the campfires yet to be
We'll tell of how we sailed the sea,
All ropes made taut, our fair flag free,
Manned by the brave Democracy,
Rally, boys, rally.

Olympia, Wash., April 26, 1900.

Art in a Ditch

Wm. Morris says that art is "the expression of man's joy in labor." What a definition of art? Do you think there is very much joy in digging a sewer ditch at 50 cents a day? Can you see much of art in a man's life who is compelled to live on less than \$200 for a year?

Under the private contract system of labor in one of the cities of Ohio last year, the contractor put laborers in competition with each other for the work of digging a sewer by the foot, with the result, as I told the civil engineer of that city, that those laborers received less than 50 cents a day. In another city of Ohio laborers on the street improvement and repair received less than \$200 for their year's work, the labor market being so overstocked that they could only be employed less than half time in order that all might have a little work. Yet in that same city there are men who used the streets and piled up in profits hundreds of thousands of dollars, wholly unconscious of their guilt in using streets kept up at the cost of the lives of other men.—Samuel M. Jones, Toledo.

International Congress

Our comrades of the French Socialist Comité d'Entente have issued a circular of invitation to the great International Socialist Congress to be held in Paris this year. The Congress is fixed for the 23d to the 28th of September next. It sets out the conditions under which the Congress has been called, the basis of representation, and the questions which are to be considered. All working-class organizations will be entitled to be represented at the Congress which accept the principles of Socialism, i. e., the socialization of the means of production, and the conquest of political power by the workers organized in a distinct proletarian party; and all trade unions which, while not taking an active part in the political movement, recognize the class war and the necessity for political action. Among the subjects set down for consideration are: International organization; the constitution and organization of the working-class party in the different countries; the expropriation of the bourgeoisie; the socialization of the means of production; international peace, militarism, the abolition of standing armies; colonial politics, and trusts. There is every reason to hope for a large, important, and successful congress.

Belgium

A vigorous speech was made the other day at the Maison du Peuple at La Louviere by the Abbe Daens in favor of old-age pensions. The government has made some proposals, but they are quite inadequate.

The Socialists at Antwerp have determined to run several candidates at the general election; they were going to agree on a joint list with the Liberals, but they have decided to act independently.

The Maison du Peuple of Brussels has just published its accounts for the last six months of 1899, the profits come to £8,600. After allowing for depreciation and for propaganda funds, part of the profits are returned to purchasers. But the institution has done even more good by putting a stop to the credit system and at the same time selling only goods of the best quality.

Bulgaria

It is reported from Budapest that a Socialist movement is developing in Bulgaria and that the peasants are refusing to pay taxes. But it is very doubtful if this is a Socialist revolt, as Socialism in the Balkan Peninsula is a purely academic movement, and it is much more likely that the trouble there is agrarian and anti-dynastic.

SUCCESS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN ELECTION AT MARION, IND.

The center of interest for Social Democrats in Indiana on May 1 was Marion, Ind. As a result of the local election in that place the party now has two representatives in the city council, who will retain their seats for four years. Comrade J. W. Kelley received a majority of seven in a ward usually having a Republican majority of 300, while Comrade Croke, in a more-cornered fight between Republicans, Democrats and Social Democrats, carried his ward with a majority of 45.

The Marion Daily Chronicle (Rep.) in an appreciative editorial said: "The existence of socialistic sentiment is a thing to which the Chronicle has time and again called attention, but it has always been received by the majority of readers with incredulity. To the observer the growth of this sentiment for years has been clear. Over and over again the Chronicle has spoken of it. All over Christendom Socialism has been growing and growing for a quarter of a century. The growth has been steady. In Germany Socialists command more votes at the polls and more votes in parliament than any other political party. It has no majority, it is true, but it has a plurality, and it has been rapidly on the increase. The London and Paris councils are under the domination of that sentiment. The growth in this country has been none the less constant, though it has not been so apparent on the surface. There are several causes for this which have been mentioned in these columns more than once, and which will have attention again.

"Another factor in the First ward is the popularity of Mr. Kelley. All who know him believe in his sincerity. The same may be said of his opponent, it is true, but the latter is not so well known. Here it is proper to say of Mr. Kelley

that all who know him have absolute confidence that he will do what he believes right, regardless of all other considerations. To what degree he will reduce his ideas to practical work for the advancement of the city remains to be seen, but everybody knows that he will do just what he believes he ought to do. Then, too, he brings to bear upon his work not only a conscientious regard for duty, but also a keen intelligence which is known only to those who come closely in contact with him.

"The election of Mr. Croke was predicted by some active Republicans, and yet it was thought that the division of the opposition vote would give Mr. Jones a plurality. Mr. Croke's election is due to the same influence that elected Mr. Kelley. Among the workmen in the Evans factory, and everywhere where he is known, he is very popular, is said to be very intelligent, and it was freely predicted that among those in his neighborhood he would command a solid vote. In addition to his personal popularity he brings to bear a general information on current social questions which few persons possess, and in argument there are not many who can cope with him. That he is most popular among those who know him best is a tribute to his personality that equals anything that can be said of anybody. In this contest, too, Socialistic sentiment was a factor which is to be considered in such contests far more than most people are willing to admit. It is a fact, and a potent one, and is not to be pooh-poohed out of existence."

The workmen of Marion have honored themselves in this electing representatives of their own party, and the Herald extends hearty congratulations to the comrades on this signal success in their first campaign.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

CELEBRATE MAY DAY

Last Sunday afternoon witnessed a May Day celebration at Milwaukee under the auspices of Social Democrats. It was inaugurated with a parade followed by a mass meeting at Schlitz Park, with speeches by Seymour Stedman of Chicago and Dr. Titus Voelkel of Milwaukee.

The parade formed in front of the Exposition building shortly after 1 o'clock and marched down State street to Third with members of the Federated Trades council at the head, preceded only by Bach's band, which led the participants in the demonstration to the park. There were nearly fifty members of the Trades Council in line, and the Molders' Union followed with about 150 men represented.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union, whose members are now out on a strike for the recognition of the union, were then seen in line, with almost the entire union membership of 150 men, and the fifteen branches of the Social Democracy in the different parts of the city followed with nearly 200 men, the remainder of the members of the branches being scattered among the various labor unions in line.

The Brewers' Union, with a membership of nearly 500 marchers, followed with Mayr's band at the head, and after them came stationary engineers and firemen, who in turn were followed by the men of the Brewery Teamsters' Union, who brought up the rear of the parade with the exception of members of various unions which were not officially participants in the demonstration.

As the parade marched on Third from State to Chestnut, Winnebago, Eleventh and Walnut streets, there were numerous banners carried by the various organizations, among which was one inscribed, "Debs for President," "Shorter Hours, Higher Wages, Mean Better Morals and Nobler Manhood." Banners with such inscriptions as "When Brains Vote, Ideas, Not Men, Rule," and "To-day the Trust, To-morrow the Deluge," were common. "Why Are You Against Socialism? Because You Know So Little About It," was followed by "Do Not Talk Politics in the Union, by Order of the Boss," was the inscription displayed by one of the paraders. All along the line of march there were cheers from the people who had turned out to see the demonstration.

The program opened at Schlitz park at about 4 o'clock and after music by Bach's orchestra, Miss Metha Bochart recited William Morris' "The March of the Workers," followed by Charles Mackay's, "Call for Revolution," as an encore. The Socialist Maennerehor rendered two musical numbers and Comrade Stedman then gave a short address.

"The demonstration to-day," he said,

"is an expression of the sentiment of the world that there are no clans or sects in the world of laboring men. There is a struggle on the part of all humanity for the economic independence of every man, woman and child, and it was not always the case that workmen could get together as they have done to-day. A few years ago we had the strike at Homestead. As a result of that strike Pinkertonism was done away with, but the capitalists found at Chicago, a few years later, that the national soldiers could do their work even better than did Pinkerton. Now we have the government by injunction developing, until a judge in New York has enjoined workmen from giving financial assistance to their striking fellows.

"The educational facilities are being curtailed. Why? The ignorant are the most servile tools of the plutocracy and there is no chance for Socialism among the most depraved and ignorant of the world. We find the great powers of government used to curtail the liberty of workmen. It will refuse aid to the workmen, but its strength is given to the men of the prevailing class, the rich. It will not give a bounty to the striking miners of the Coeur d'Alene as it does to the sugar trust. The capitalist organizes the trust, and laws and franchises are passed for his assistance. Trades unions do not seem to recognize the necessity of bringing the government to aid their class. If the men of the shops showed their power at the polls the legislators would shift their assistance to the workmen instead of giving it to the employers. When you once come together at the ballot box you will find that the employers will grant what you ask, to perpetuate their own existence. Our success would not be the success of the classes, but the destruction of all classes. When people realize our wishes they will come to us and there will be a new social system prevailing and freedom for all."

Gains at Terre Haute

Terre Haute comrades polled 223 votes for James A. Hatchell, 207 for John C. Kingery, and 210 for James E. Wall for councilmen at large. Slight interest was taken in the election, as but 60 per cent of the vote was cast. The comrades made no extra effort in this election, as we are saving our energy and finances for the fall election. The highest vote polled in 1898 (county election) was 260, lowest 56, an average of about 80 for the city. Our gain is about 140 straight Socialist votes. Look out for Hoosierdom! Jas. Oneal.

The Social Democrats at Jacksonville, Ill., organized a branch January 1, 1900, and fought their first political battle on the 17th of April. They elected two members of the board of education, Comrades H. Hering and Benj. J. Miller.

Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board
JESSE COX, Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
FREDERIC HEATH

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and no bill will follow. Foreign subscriptions \$1.00.

Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.
126 Washington St., Chicago.

97 is the number of this paper. If the number on your wrapper is 98 your subscription expires with the next week's paper. Please renew promptly.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1900.

THE REFERENDUM

On the question submitted to the membership in the Herald of April 7, "Is union between the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Labor Party faction desirable?" it is possible to give only the aggregate vote for and against the union proposed; next week a detailed and tabulated report by branches will be published. The total vote received is 2,152, divided as follows:

For union . . . 939
Against union . . . 1,213

Theodore Debs,
National Secretary.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

At a meeting of the executive board held May 6, the resignation of Jesse Cox was accepted with expressions of great appreciation for his faithful and constant attention to the requirements of the position he has filled with complete satisfaction to all acquainted with him and the demands made upon him during the past two years.

When you buy an article worth \$25 or over, something out of the usual run of household goods, you get a friend who understands that particular line of goods to go along with you. Why? You acknowledge in so doing that the capitalistic system of production as opposed to the socialistic system, does not stimulate to action the best efforts of the workingman. The goods were made to sell; not to wear, to eat, or to arouse admiration.

A good price will sometimes buy a fine article, but all cheaper articles of the same line are imitations more or less like the good article, according to the price paid. Thus there are fifty makes of pianos, the same of bicycles, typewriters, carriages, watches, etc., all equally "honest goods"—according to the salesman.

During the past three centuries we have had what we consider a large number of master painters, musicians, authors and scientific men, who have struggled to the front in spite of the capitalistic system that has developed during that time. They have fought against poverty, custom and the demands of relatives who wanted to see them "get along" in the business world, and yet they stand out as bright stars in a dark sky. We do not know what architecture, painting, music and science have in store for the twentieth century man and woman.

One of the Social Democrats elected to the city council of Brockton, Mass., against the expressed will of the members of his branch, voted in favor of a private franchise on the ground that his constituency, irrespective of the wishes of his comrades in the S. D. P., also favored it. The result was an acceptance of his resignation from public office by the branch, but the capitalistic members of the council stood by him and he declined to retire from the council. He was then expelled from membership in the Social Democratic Party.

One of the organizations identified with the progressive labor movement is the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, which is represented in Chicago by several branches, one of which, No. 77, meets the last Sunday in the month at 3 p. m., at Ehlert's Hall, corner of Eighteenth and Loomis streets. This organization has a record of fifteen years. The secretary of Branch 77 is F. Rose, 857 W. Twenty-first street, who will be glad to give any information desired.

Everywhere the work of the newer branches is characterized by the same energy and enthusiasm that has marked the record of the older ones in the past. At Coffeen, Ill., our comrades polled 37 straight Socialist votes at the township election last week, and for village justice Comrade Champe received 102 votes against 212 for his demo-republican opponent.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

No thorough student of American politics will deny the statement that there has never been any real democracy in America. There were many things quite admirable in the old party of Jefferson and Jackson, and there is indeed much that is admirable in the present Democratic party of Bryan, Altgeld, George Fred Williams, etc. But the word "democratic" does not always mean democracy any more than the word convict means rogue. The Republican party to-day claims to be as democratic as the Democratic party, but the Republican party is just as anti-democratic as it is anti-republican. So is the Democratic party. Both of these parties mean the perpetration of the present wage system of capitalism—the Republican party representing the capitalist class and the Democratic party representing the great but rapidly disappearing middle class. The Republican party believes in fostering and assisting those grand industrial organizations known as trusts, while the Democratic party believes in harassing, restricting or destroying them. Unconsciously the corrupt Republican party is doing valuable work for the cause of Socialism, and unconsciously the Democratic party is doing much to retard the advance of Socialism. To again put the Democratic party in power would be to take a step backward. To retain the Republican party in power for four more years would be to take a step forward. Capitalism and trusts are natural products of industrial evolution and the very best thing that could be is four more years of uninterrupted capitalism. Then its natural life will have been spent. When a doctor is consulted about a boil that has just appeared upon his patient he naturally concludes that there are impurities in the blood that must be removed. He could easily drive the boil away, but it would be only for a short time, because the impurities would still remain and must some time be removed. The best thing would be to bring the bothersome nuisance to a natural head—not to prolong the suffering or to temporarily relieve it.

The Democratic party would drive the boil away temporarily only to see it reappear later bringing with it more terrible consequences. The small capitalists, or the middle class, who control the Democratic party, would gladly crush the trust and become exploiters themselves, but they will never succeed. The big capitalists of the Republican party will not permit it, and it is well.

As to the elections this fall, it looks as though there would be four sets of candidates in the field besides the regular Socialist candidates—McKinley and Bryan, an anti-imperialistic Republican, and a gold Democrat. I doubt if the Populists will cut much figure. Most of them will join the Socialists, and the others will support Bryan. It looks as though Admiral Dewey will be the gold Democratic nomination, and if he does he may defeat McKinley. But one of the two will surely be elected, and with four more years of capitalism, the way will be prepared for the incoming co-operative commonwealth, for Socialism, which I think will carry the election in 1904. It is very plain that the duty of all Socialists this year is to stand by the Socialist candidates. It is almost wicked to do otherwise. With a million votes to their credit next November, the party will be filled with new energy and supreme confidence in the future.

The future of democracy in America, therefore, depends upon what Socialists do this year. The larger their vote the sooner will come the democracy of the future.

EUGENE V. BREWSTER.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A B C OF SOCIALISM

Every man has a right to work to keep himself alive without let or hindrance from any other man.

Every worker has a right to all he has produced.

Every man has a right to work under such conditions as will give him the most for the least.

The trusts have demonstrated that co-operation produces most for the least outlay.

Society creates all values, therefore all values belong to society for the good of all.

Society gives all value to all inventions.

If there were no society, a corner lot in San Francisco would have no value.

If there were but one man, his million-acre farm, with its millions of cattle, would be worthless as pebbles. Nay more, his own life would have no value, it would not be worth the living.

If there were no boarders, the landlord would buy no butter and the dairy would have no value.

Socialism holds that these truths are self-evident and it therefore boldly proclaims that all franchisees, all laws that give individuals the control of values are legalized robbery—the cause of all trusts, all wars, all poverty, and most of the crimes that have buried so many, so-called civilizations—they are the source of the danger now threatening human liberty.

Socialism, however, does not propose to meddle with the dead past. It wishes to think no more of those old wars and horrid tales. Its ways are peace and good will.

It will address itself to the present—It will construct and operate railroads at cost and let Huntington charge \$5.00 or \$5 to San Francisco, and get it if he can.

It will use checks as a universal clearing-house, and let banks loan money at 186 per cent if they can.

Labor will farm its own lands and let Lux and Miller farm their millions alone, if they can.

Ten days of this will teach the haughty millionaire that his riches are nothing but a cunning legal contrivance borrowed from bloody Rome, which enables him to lawfully seize and hold the products of other men's toil.

In Brockton, Mass., 21,000 people produced over \$21,000,000 of shoes at factory price. This is over \$5,000 for every shoemaker, who took \$600 of his own product for his pay and turned over \$4,400 to his master for the privilege of working. Brockton is now Socialist and the arrogant master will be poor as soon as the workmen leave his mill to co-operate in one of their own. His mill will be as worthless as Huntington's railroad, but as the boss goes down, the people will rise; they will keep that \$4,400.

This is Socialism, or universal co-operation. To say it will do away with all incentive to labor, is simply to say, John Jones cares more for his family alone than he does for the whole world, his own family included.

Depend upon it, men are too selfish to let this good thing go by. It will enable every man to produce the most for the least and to keep his own product.

Then the great instinct to which Christ appealed, "Do as you would be done by" will be supreme—nay, it is supreme even now, for in spite of all the evil and anguish engendered by legislation, for every bad deed men do, there are ten good ones; otherwise the race would perish.

When all products can be had at cost the saloon will cease to be, for it is run only for profit.

The movement is international and we are coming a hundred million strong.—M. V. Rork.
Fresno, Cal.

SOCIALISM'S PROPHECY

An address delivered by Harry F. Dyruff, on April 30, 1900, before the Franklin Literary Society of Brooklyn, N. Y.

I have been asked to speak on the subject of Socialism's Prophecy, and I think it best in the few minutes allotted to me to explain to you in my crude and humble way the ideas of Socialism. From that, you will see what Socialism is and after seeing what it is you cannot help but seeing its inevitableness. Socialism's Prophecy is, that we will have Socialism and will elect a Socialist national ticket within the next decade. One of the finest definitions of Socialism, is one which appeared in the N. Y. Journal last week, which you have probably read, yet I think it is worthy of repetition. It was written by my comrade and friend, Eugene V. Brewster, and is headed, "Socialism—A Definition" (with apologies). "Socialism is a system not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness, it covers at no danger, it oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor and sympathizes with the humble. It asks nothing but what it concedes; it concedes nothing but what it demands. Destructive only of Despotism it is the sole conservator of Liberty, Labor and Justice. It is the ripe fruit of democracy, the law of nature pervading the land. It droppeth like the gentle rain from Heaven upon the place beneath equalizing opportunity, dispelling inequality, and restoring to every person his natural manhood. It breathes into the soul of Labor the life of the new world and raises it from the level of the beast. It restores to the producer his stolen implements of production, equitably distributes his products, and transforms the lowly slave into ripe and beautiful manhood. It not only appeals to selfish materialism, but to the highest moral and intellectual attributes known to our nature, yielding bread in abundance to the starving, moral food for the idealistic, and the highest conception of justice to all. The ignorant, the vulgar, the base in spirit, may denounce it as a dangerous thing, but in the social and industrial evolution Socialism shall show to all the world that its principles are eternal, its laws immutable, its claims indisputable and its consummation inevitable. It is an actual dream of the future paradise and sees in the present only a hideous nightmare. It seeks not to remedy or reform, but demands a peaceful revolution from slavery to equality, from tyranny to justice, from base and ignoble degradation to common happiness and contentment. It is noble, it is sublime—the perfection of human endeavor, that, recognizing the mutuality of all true human interests, quickens the pulses of the statesman, nerves the pen of the scholar, invigorates the voice of the orator, and doubles the energy of the toiler."

Socialism to me is all that is beautiful and beneficial—the brotherhood of man. To the materialistic it is an ideal form of managing our affairs for the best interests of all. The ignorant look upon us as revolutionists; they only

compliment us with their abuse. Our main idea is, that the collectivity (that is all the people collectively) should own all the instruments of production and distribution. Some claim that this is not practical and some say if it is practical that it will not be realized for hundreds of years. They say let us try and get as much temporary relief as possible. I say no let us have a permanent and speedy cure. If you aim high, you may hit the middle, if you aim a little above the bottom you won't strike much higher than the bottom. The arrow of achievement in its flight always falls a prey to the law of gravitation. Some say, let us break up these huge monopolies, the trusts, and all will be right. That is one of the most foolish arguments I have ever heard. To go back to old methods of competition and waste, a system where the object is to steal from your neighbor, steal his trade, steal his reputation; a system of the greatest roguery and the greatest thievery, getting the best of everything. Why do we not break up the postoffice? That is a monopoly. It is true it could be managed much better than it is, but why? Because now the railroads compel the government to pay exorbitant prices for carrying the mail, private monopolies control the prices of even such small things as the paper used for stamps and the card board used for postals, and private monopolies control the price of everything else used by the postoffice, yet even as it is, is it not managed far better than any competitive business? And it would pay a much larger revenue did it not do so much educational work in carrying your books, newspapers and other educational matter for almost nothing? And how did the government get control of the postoffice? The same way as we propose to get control of all other monopolies now in private hands. At first, mail was delivered by private messengers. Then a few of them in one place got together and formed a little company, a few more somewhere else formed another company, and so on until there were many private companies. Finally all these companies got together and combined; when their combination had been perfected, the government seized it by taking to itself all rights of delivering mail. Just compare the methods of the postoffice with those of the competitive business methods. Supposing you wanted to send out about twenty-five Christmas presents and you hired a messenger and paid him fifty cents apiece to deliver them, \$12.50 in all. Next door to you Jones had about twenty-five Christmas presents to deliver, and he paid \$12.50, and his neighbor had twenty-five presents to be delivered, and so on. Now, supposing you and Jones and another neighbor got together and hired one man to deliver the seventy-five presents and you paid him \$5 for doing it. Instead of \$37.50, which you three paid before, you pay only \$5, and save \$32.50. Now supposing you found that every man on your block had about twenty-five presents to be delivered and you called a meeting of them all in your parlor some evening and you said, now we each have about twenty-five Christmas presents to deliver and I find that many of us have presents going to the same house or the house next door, and so you said let us all combine and hire ten men for \$100 to deliver all of our presents, which they could do in one day, because they would leave five or six in one house and five or six next door and so on. If there were 100 of you, you would save the difference between \$100, which you pay the ten men, and \$12.50, the total which you would have to pay to have each one's present delivered separately. You see by systematizing the work you would save the unnecessary labor of many men. Some would say, well, that throws just so many out of work. What we want to do is to give men work, give employment to labor. If that's all they want to do why not let them all build a big tank on the seashore and work all day filling it with water and at night let all the water run out again or dig a big hole in the ground and then fill it up again. That would be giving employment to labor. But that would be waste, it would be useless labor, non-producing labor. If the commonwealth owned the soil we could take that same energy, that same labor and set it to work on some unoccupied field and produce bread for those that are now starving, or if the commonwealth owned the machinery of production we could take that same labor and set it to work in the now idle factories to make clothes for those who now have none. What we must do is to eliminate this waste of labor and energy, this non-producing labor and set it to work producing something instead of killing time with useless non-producing employment. To go back to co-operation, if John Smith and I can save labor and push six large stones from our yard in one day by pushing them out both together and only one each a day by slowly rolling them out each alone, is it not better for us to co-operate? Combination, co-operation is a good thing. The trusts are a good thing; they are a fine co-operative system. But it is the co-operation of the few to the detriment of the many. Why not let us all co-operate? Let us all get in the trusts or own the trusts and co-operate for the mutual benefit of us all. Some say, how can you get into

the trusts? They won't let you in. Let the government take them as it did the postoffice. They have fattened on special privileges granted them by the government or community, they have in reality been created by the community and the community is entitled to own that which it has created. Some say if we had ideal socialism there would be no incentive of gain. That seems to be the chief objection to Socialism. When they say this, they have it in their minds that money is the only incentive of gain. Really, money is only one of many. There are the incentives of leaving your name to posterity, of gaining the admiration of your fellowmen, of being admired as great poets, great painters, sculptors, actors, etc. The love of money is only one incentive and under our system it would be the love of the miser only, for money would be of no value except to look at. The opposer of Socialism teaches that man would rather do wrong than right; we say man would rather do right than wrong, that if he had plenty to eat, plenty of clothes to wear and a place to sleep, that man would not steal or cheat. You know you would rather not take the living of the storekeeper next door to you away if it was not that by doing it you would have more food and clothes for yourself and family. You would rather live in peace with your neighbor if you could do so and both have enough of the necessities of life. Man is at heart good, and you know it. Another great objection comes from the so-called middle class. They say: I do not want to give up what I've saved and share it with Jones who has not saved anything. There is not one of them, gentlemen, who would not give up a little house and lot for the promise of the government, to insure him and his, a chance to earn a living. Even if there be a few that wouldn't; their house and lot will be finally taken by the larger capitalist, anyway, so they cannot lose any more through Socialism, and they have everything to gain through it. And to close, let me say, in the words of the poet, Macaulay: "We need no aid of barricade to show a front to wrong. We have a citadel in Truth more durable and strong. Calm words, great thoughts, undimmed faith have never striven in vain, They've won our battle many a time, and so they shall again."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Austria

The 11,000 miners at Kladno have had to go back to work on the master's terms, after being on strike for nearly three months. It is the old story of a strike being entered into without adequate preparation. Strike is war, and it is no use fighting, however just the cause, if you are not well organized beforehand. It is said that the men are going to form a strong union.

The weavers at Warnsdorf have also gone back to work, and have succeeded in obtaining the ten-hour day.

The new Polish Socialist paper published at Lemberg—the Naprzod (Forward)—is struggling with the Censor. It has already been seized four times, though it is barely a month old. A French journalist under the Empire said that it was the Censor who enabled a man to show if he was skillful or not. With a free press anyone could write, but if it was a muzzled press then it required a clever man to write and yet keep within the law.

The Socialists at Lemberg have held a great demonstration in favor of universal suffrage.

Efforts are being made in Vienna to establish a woman's club.

Bishop Lobos, of Tarnow, is dead. He was interesting as a survival of an old-fashioned ecclesiastic; he never dallied with Socialism, but in his pastorals he used always to refer to Socialists as allies of the Devil and as inspired by evil spirits. And yet the poor old man saw Socialism increase in his diocese in Galicia.

Germany

A new hall has been built at Berlin—the German name is very long, as usual—but the object of the hall is to provide a place for offices of the various trade unions, and there is also a large hall, which can be used for meetings. The place will be managed by the different trade unions, and will be very similar to the Paris Bourse de Travail.

The annual congress of the German Socialist Party will be held in September at Mayence, in Rhenish Prussia. In Easter week there were several local congresses of Socialists, as, for example, the Wurtemberg Congress at Stuttgart, the Saxon at Dresden, and the German Poles at Berlin.

It is said that Dr. Arons, the lecturer who was dismissed by the Prussian government for being a Socialist, will be the candidate of the party at Magdeburg for the seat which is vacant through Oertel's death. The choice, however, has not been finally made.

Italy

Ciccotti has been selected as the Socialist candidate for one of the divisions of Milan, and up till now there is no other candidate.

Subscribe for the Herald.

NEW BRANCHES

The new branches of the Social Democratic party organized since a week ago, are located at

Buntingville, Cal.
Lowell, Mass.
North Ontario, Cal.
Saginaw, Mich.
Evanston, Ind.
Muscatine, Iowa.
Louisville, Ky.
East Braintree, Mass.
Independence, Mo.
Madison, Maine.
Somerville, Conn.
Logan, Utah.

New Hampshire Convention

The Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire will hold a state convention on Saturday, May 12, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m., at City Hall, Manchester, N. H., for the purpose of nominating presidential electors and a full state ticket; also to nominate two candidates for congress and to transact such other business as may come before the convention. F. G. R. Gordon, Chairman.

Daniel Fisher, Secretary.

In Aristocratic Pasadena

We send greeting to comrades throughout the land and wish them to know that we are doing a little something to help the cause along and that Socialism is gaining ground even here in wealthy and aristocratic Pasadena. At the municipal election in April we had candidates in the field for three trustees, the first time in its history that the city ever had a Socialist ticket. Out of 1,254, the whole number of votes cast, one of our candidates received 61, one 65 and one 93, an average of 6 per cent, thus giving us a standing as a political party. As I said, this is the first time a Socialist ticket was ever run in the city; four years ago, at the general election, I am told there was one vote for the S. L. P. We feel encouraged. We are at present holding weekly meetings at the board of trade rooms and hope to be in good shape for the campaign of 1900, and poll a good, respectable vote for Debs and Harriman. And in closing I cannot refrain from speaking a good word for these able men and true Socialists. Debs created unbounded enthusiasm when here by his masterly presentation of our principles, and Harriman has lived among us for many years and we all know him to be true blue. Nothing will give me, and many others here, greater pleasure than to have an opportunity to cast a ballot for this ticket. O. T. Fellows.

Pasadena, Cal.

The following county ticket has been nominated by the Social Democrats of Butler county, Missouri:

Representative—Carl Knecht.
Sheriff—A. C. Ford.
Collector—B. R. Armstrong.
Treasurer—J. C. Roberts.
Assessor—R. C. Edwell.
Public Administrator—J. I. Simpson.
Judge Western District—H. C. McCullough.
Judge Eastern District—G. W. Clemmons.

To Tennessee Socialists: For the purpose of organizing branches and putting a ticket out this fall, the undersigned urges that you write to him at once. Also send him a list of all unattached Socialists. Wm. L. Hamilton, Organizer Branch No. 1, 323 Russell street, Nashville, Tenn.

A successful college or university president nowadays is one who can beg the largest donations.

To Our Washington Readers

Comrade D. Burgess of New Whatcom, Wash., has been selected as organizer for the state and is prepared to assist the Socialists of Washington in organizing branches of the S. D. P. Correspondence addressed to him will receive prompt attention.

North Dakota Socialists

Socialists residing in North Dakota and desiring to organize for effective propaganda work in that state are requested to correspond with Math. Eidsness, Towner, N. D.

Michigan Socialists

All Social Democrats and all unattached Socialists residing in Michigan are requested to write at once to Henry Ramsey, 84 Railroad street, Battle Creek, Mich., and thus aid in placing a Social Democratic state ticket in the field this fall.

California Socialists

Socialists resident in California and not members of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with John Carter, 929 Twenty-second street, San Francisco.

Attention, Nebraska

Persons living in Nebraska and accepting the principles of Socialism are requested to communicate with T. A. Edwards, 3220 California street, Omaha, with a view to the organization of branches of the Social Democratic party.

Arizona Socialists

In every community should correspond with M. J. Casper, Box 178, Globe, Tucson, Ariz. We have plans for keeping organizers in the field to organize branches in every town in Arizona before November; 500 Socialists pledging 25 cents per month each will do it. Don't miss it—write at once.

To Our Connecticut Readers

All unattached Socialists in the state of Connecticut are requested to write Louis Schlaf, 26 Spring street, Rockville, for information concerning the organization of branches.

Southern California, Attention

All Socialists in the seven southern counties of Southern California should now get to work and so far as possible form branches in every voting precinct. To further this end communicate at once with James T. VanRensselaer, 1618 Towner street, Los Angeles, Cal.

To Texas Socialists

For purpose of State organization, the Bonham Social Democratic Branch requests that every Socialist in Texas who reads this notice, will please send name and address to the undersigned. Please attend to this at once. W. E. Farmer, Bonham, Texas.

All Socialist papers please publish.

Oregon Socialists, Attention

You are requested to communicate with J. D. Stevens, Box 204, Portland, organizer for the S. D. P., with a view to instituting branches of the party in your community. The future belongs to Socialism. Lend a hand and get your state thoroughly organized.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM

By Charles Trench

Would a socialistic form of government effect a substantial and beneficial change in the condition of the working classes? Though this question has been often answered before, further explanation may not be out of order, at a time when Socialism is regarded with deadly aversion by capitalists who pay liberally to have it reviled and misrepresented. Nor ought it to be forgotten that a thousand evil prophecies have been uttered against it, none of which have yet been fulfilled.

Socialism may be broadly defined as a system of human government by which the distinction between labor and capital is abolished, and the bounty which the Creator intended for all is divided among all. Its purpose is, also, to do away with the prevailing system of capitalism which gorges the few and condemns the many to rags and starvation.

A western farmer asked me, a few weeks ago, if Socialism would enable him to make improvements on his farm without the immediate liability of having his rent raised. He is, now, a tenant at will of an Irish landlord, who collects rack-rents over an area of seventy thousand acres.

Socialism, I answered, is peculiarly adapted to the needs of all farmers, especially those who pay rent to absentee landlords. In the first place, your rent would amount to a mere fractional part of what you pay to the present owner. In the next place, all tariffs would be abolished, as well as extortionate freight charges. You would, further, be rid of the horde of monopolists, robbers and deadbeats that are now riding upon the back of industry.

Under the regime of Socialism your farming implements, clothing, and all other commodities would be purchasable at cost prices. Even the old feudal system is preferable to the modern one, in which you pay four enormous profits on every manufactured article you consume. Finally, you would have no taxes to pay; for the people, collectively owning every acre of land in the country, the rent therefrom would be amply sufficient to defray all the expenses of running the government.

After listening attentively to these statements the farmer frankly avowed that my arguments had made him a convert to Socialism. He further announced his intention of casting his ballot for Eugene V. Debs, whose plain title of "comrade" had, in his eyes, a more majestic sound than the proudest distinction which kings or potentates could confer.

Let us, now, pass from the prairies to a three-room tenement in one of the eastern states. Here, is an unusually intelligent artisan, whose face is an emblem of care and resignation. His wife and three children look as unhealthy as if they had come out of their graves. He knew, absolutely, nothing about Socialism, owing mainly to the political spy-system practiced in the factory in which he was employed. "Any man," he said, "who ventured to express any radical views on political economy was pretty sure of losing his job."

Heaving a deep sigh, he informed me that it was only by the strictest economy and self-denial that he and his wife, for ten tiresome years, had been enabled to exist. Would Socialism, he inquired, enable him to make ends meet and ease the burdens which rendered life intolerable.

"Most certainly it would," I replied. "Its leading features are sufficiently plain. Socialism means the establishment of a free self-governing type of industry of the people, by the people, and for the people. The methods of production, distribution and exchange would be carried on by free associated workers. The entire surplus of production, which now falls to the capitalist, would be fairly divided among the operatives, thereby securing to each the full product of his labor."

Another important point should be clearly understood: it is, that a socialistic government would provide the working classes with the necessities of life at cost prices.

The sycophants and hirelings of capitalism tell you that Socialism is an impracticable dream, impossible to realize. But it is impossible for audacious lying to prevail against facts. It is worthy of notice that the elite of the workingmen, of probably, the best educated and most thoughtful nation in the world, have gone over to Socialism. In 1890 the Social Democracy polled 1,420,000 votes, and furnish the large contingent of forty-eight members to the German Reichstag.

Look again at London! Socialism, under the leadership of the famous John Burns, has achieved economic triumphs that are wonderful. The great metropolis, roused into activity by the resolute and menacing attitude of Socialism, provides municipal lodging houses, winter swimming baths, lavatories, laundries, bakeries, electric lights, savings banks and scores of other public utilities, which tend to relieve the cares and burdens of the laboring classes.

All these are examples of practical Socialism, through which classes will cease to exist. Its advent, in the near future, is as inevitable as the rising of tomorrow's sun.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENT

By W. W. Passage.

The following is a local news item copied from the February 28, 1900, issue of one of the great New York dailies:

"Thirty-eight dead babies in the morgue were mute evidence that yesterday was the coldest day of the winter. One of them, two days old, found in front of No. 247 West Forty-sixth street, had been actually frozen to death. It was wrapped only in a thin piece of muslin. The other bodies were 'unclaimed' dead, their parents being too poor to bury them."

What awful significance has this when we stop to consider that it is the record for but one day, and one city of many! Thirty-eight innocent babes, starved, frozen or perished from lack of medical attention; consigned to unnamed and unknown graves, in a city which boasts of scores of millionsaires!

We read with feelings of horror of the ancient custom of the mother standing on the banks of the River Ganges, and, impelled by religious superstition, casting her babe into the dark water, where ferocious crocodiles waited to crush out the young life into which was concentrated that sacred maternal love of offspring, that instinctive, burning passion so intense, both in mankind and the lower animals, that no physical or material sacrifice is great enough to prevent its gratification.

But what difference whether the babe be torn from its mother's loving heart to satisfy the wrath or caprice of a heathen god or in obedience to the equally cruel demands of economic necessity—the god of commerce? Just this, and only this: The former was the ignorant act of a fanatical, barbaric social order; the latter is the conscious neglect of a more barbaric—because conscious—social order, which its chartering sponsors call "Christian civilization."

Merciful God, what a hideous caricature of Christianity! What a burlesque upon civilization! Suppose the parents of these babes were dissipated and improvident, or even worse. Has organized society no concern that the penalty falls upon their helpless offspring? Has the cancer of commercialism so eaten out the soul of our people that they have no pity, no sentiment, no strong arm of justice and no courage to stretch it forth in protection of these innocent babes and defiantly tax down to the last sou, if necessary, the surplus of those who spend \$50 each for caskets in which to bury pet dogs?

If the injunction "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor" does not mean at least that so long as anybody has a surplus none should suffer from lack of the necessities of life, then the incident recorded in the scriptures has no meaning at all, and better be omitted from the religious ceremonies of those who, blinded by party idolatry or personal gain, are ever conspiring to prevent the economic emancipation of mankind. Let them have an expurgated edition of the bible, as well as of other great books, so that they may no longer claim the genuine edition as the source of their grotesque inspiration, and thus bring it into disrepute.

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 6, 1900.

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for its production

Insist on having the label

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Educational meetings (for members) every Tuesday evening. Sociology, Economics, Public Speaking, etc. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, with advantage of Educational Course and Social Democratic Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. France, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

Branch No. 3, Alameda, California, holds free public meetings every 2nd and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m. at Foresters' Hall, cor. Park St. and Santa Clara Ave. Business and Educational meetings (for members) 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m. at 2408 Euclid Ave. Allan A. Crockett, Secretary, 1610 Walnut St.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:00 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Golden, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at Turn Hall, Rockville. L. Schlaf, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, New Haven, meets every Tuesday evening, at 190 State St. at 8 p. m. Cornelius Mahoney, Secretary, 165 Frank St.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 254 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 636 Blue Island Ave. Vaclav Jelinek, Secretary, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Andr. Muzik's, 40 String St. Paul Chlapacka, Secretary, 364 Noble St.

Branch No. 6, Chicago, meets every first and third Saturdays each month at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Giesler, Secretary, 726 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8, (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m. at Lincoln Street. J. A. Ambroz, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 63rd st., first and third Sundays at 3 p. m. Roswell H. Johnson, Secretary, 652 E. 37th.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Sts.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hiteam, meets every fourth Friday the month at opera house. S. B. Janssen, chairman. James Fisher, organizer; Joseph Schollicut, secretary.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 2, Covington, meets first and third Wednesday evenings and second and fourth Sunday afternoons of each month. All agitation meetings except third meeting in month. Good speakers. Secretary, F. C. Stumpf, 201 6th street.

MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at Hotel, 325 W. Camden St. Good speakers. Public invited. Lettie T. Jones, Secretary, 202 W. Barre st.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St. Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Hallie, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turners Hall, 11 Beulah st. Organizer 551, Sumner St.

Branch No. 1, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 423 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 8 p. m. for business at Socialist Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Evening exercise to attend one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, Secretary, 42 Green St.

Branch No. 15, East Boston, meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Sevel, Secretary, 99 Chelsea St.

Branch No. 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 37 Pleasant St. T. H. Chisnell, Secretary, 16 Collins St. A. L. Binley, 288 Merrimac St.

TO ILLINOIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In accordance with a resolution passed on April 11, 1900, by the Chicago Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, you are hereby notified that there will be held a convention of the Social Democratic Party of Illinois, for the purpose of nominating the following state officers, to be voted for on Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1900: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Three Trustees of the Illinois State University, also 24 Presidential Electors, and other officers.

This convention will meet at No. 594 East 63d Street, Chicago, Ill., on Sunday, May 13, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.

The representation of said convention will be by delegates chosen as follows:

First.—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as there are individual members in good standing, any representative if selected shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose name is signed to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall sign his name to more than one credential.

Second.—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of this state to represent them; provided that in each case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

Third.—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the Party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth.—All signatures of members attached to credentials, as herein provided, shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

J. H. GREER,

Chairman.

CHAS. H. SOELKE,

Secretary.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, permanent headquarters, Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in the real estate office of Fred Geeswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1200 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2nd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1208 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmond St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Wills's Hall, 55 E. 4th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 112 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 128 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 3, 24th Assembly District, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at 1009 Second Ave., at the "Central." Harry Laus, Secretary, 324 E. 60th St.

Branch No. 4, West Side Branch, New York, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of every month at headquarters, 189 W. 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary, Sec. Pressman, 100 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, 4th Assembly District, meets every first and third Wednesday of the month at the room of The Voice of Labor, 62 Grand St. Joseph Ranken, Organizer, 129 Division St.

Branch No. 13, Brooklyn, headquarters, 231 Rulledge St. Meets every third Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, Secretary, 231 Rulledge St.

Branch No. 20, regular meetings are held first and third Friday of the month at Webster Hall, 140th St. and Third Ave. Borough of the Bronx, E. Spranger, Secretary, 317 E. 140th St. All persons interested in Socialism and the S. D. P. are invited to attend.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Cleveland, meets in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St., second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meetings, first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts. every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall of the Central Trades and Labor Block. Everyone interested in Socialism invited. C. Schwabe, Chairman, W. Harringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workmen's Hall, 148 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Front St.

Branch No. 11, Germantown, Columbus. Ed Oreiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at K. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Steis, Secretary, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansass St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at Funk Hall, 5. 24th and Josephine Sts. W. Bohn, President, 244 Adair St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 2315 Jane St.

Branch No. 3 (Jewish), Philadelphia, meets every Friday at 8:30 Third St. at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. I. Gerson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at 615 E. Water St. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerflinger, Treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 583 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, Chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Ave. R. Schoen, Secretary-Treasurer, S. 12th St.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meier's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 381 23th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Sigel's Hall, 2nd east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at K. of L. Hall, 21 and Center St. at 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.

The Social Democratic

Red Book

PRICE 15 CENTS

Sent postpaid on receipt of price

Debs Publishing Co.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE

WITH

TRADE UNIONS



You will encourage the sale

OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuse. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Charters\$2.00
Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

CAMPAIGN FUND

J. N. Wheeler.....Gonova, Ill..... \$1.00
Wm. Wilkinson.....New Glarus, Wis..... .50
J. E. Collins.....New Glarus, W..... .50
Geo. Markhall.....Omaha, Neb..... 1.00
Adam Anderson.....Dirigo, Me..... 1.00
W. P. Borland.....Burley, Wash..... 1.00
Al. Pierson.....Jacksonville, Ill..... .50

\$6.50

PROPAGANDA FUND

B. Levinthal.....New York..... \$0.25
Branch No. 18.....New York..... .25
E. V. Pierce.....Illinois..... .20
Eugene V. Debs.....Indiana..... 1.00
J. S. Ziegler.....Illinois..... 1.00
Gilbert A. Monette.....Massachusetts..... 2.00

SAVE THE PARTY

To all loyal members of the S. D. P.: "Save the Party," should be the watchword from now on. We are passing through an ordeal that tries men and shows the stuff they are made of. Those who profess to view the perjury of the S. L. P. representatives as of little consequence must not forget that it was those promises that made it possible for the Indianapolis convention to continue its negotiations for unification after the revolt of Thursday night and the apparent splitting of the party into two factions. The assurances of the S. L. P. members was so solemnly given that our mistrust, born of long years of bitter experience, was allayed and the convention resumed Friday morning, joyous in the confidence that the party name would not be placed in jeopardy in the arranging of a union of forces. The real intentions of the S. L. P. was revealed, however, when the conference committee began its sessions.

The report of the meeting of the New York conference given readers of The Herald by Comrade Haile passed over the finale of the first session of the joint committee on conference. This is to be regretted, as our members were entitled to know just what took place there, and more especially as the episode I allude to was the one dramatic event of the entire conference—the nub, in fact, of the whole subsequent controversy. It unmasked the S. L. P. members and exposed their real ulterior motives in "coming courting" to their former hated rival, the S. D. P. I feel justified, therefore, in reviewing that portion of the proceedings, but will try to be as brief as possible.

The feeling ran high at Indianapolis when the minority report on unification was passed, and only a spark was needed to cause an explosion. The spark was furnished by Comrade Carey, who made no secret of his desire for a new party. When, after Debs had declined, he moved to indorse both the nominees of the S. L. P. there was a revolt such as is seldom witnessed in a national convention. Only a motion to adjourn finally saved the convention from breaking up in a riot. To all intents and purposes the party had split in twain and instead of three Socialist parties it looked very much as if there would from thenceforth be four. There was dejection on all faces, and one or two delegates even left for their homes feeling that they had actually witnessed the dissolution of the party that had been their pride and hope. That evening various attempts were made to harmonize the warring elements. One of the results of this distressing state of things was the final, reluctant consent of Eugene V. Debs to accept a presidential nomination in order that the party might be saved. Another was the pledge given by the S. L. P. representatives, Harriman, Hilquit and Hayes, to agree to a unification of the parties under the name, Social Democratic Party. They saw that there was no other way out, that if they did not yield this point that the plan for union would come to a stop, as the S. D. P. would itself divide into factions. This action of the S. L. P. members made it possible for the factions in our convention to come together again, and this, and Comrade Debs' acceptance of the presidential nomination made the final day's session a veritable love feast. A committee of nine on unification was named and so great was the trust in the assurances of the S. L. P. delegates that the party name would not be placed in jeopardy that the minority report was left undisturbed, it being felt that the intent of the convention was so clear and undisputed that no danger could be looked for from that source. When we of the committee of nine held a session after the convention was over, Hilquit of New York asked that the regular joint session of the two party committees be held in New York two weeks from that date. He wanted the deliberations held in his city, because it was the head center of his party and it would thus be the easier to reconcile his people to the understanding about the name. He wanted the date fixed as he requested because he felt that two weeks' work would be sufficient to prepare his people for the name. One objection that we of the west (Hoehn excepted) had to the date asked for was that there was strong probability that Comrade Berger (who had received the highest number of votes when our committee was chosen) would be unable to attend, owing to the fact that he expected an increase in his family at about that date. Upon learning this, the S. L. P. members insisted the more, and enough of our committee thoughtlessly walked into the snare to give the proposition enough votes to carry it. I also wished for another date, as it would take me away from the Milwaukee campaign, which I had to desert already to be present at the convention in Indianapolis. The conference of the two committees, as you know, convened in New York, Sunday morning, two weeks later. After some preliminaries had been gone through, I was distressed to find that instead of legislating for the best interests of a future movement, a determination to dicker for partisan advantage, especially on the part of the S. L. P. members, began to manifest itself, and I finally arose and urged

that we drop all idea of party interests and direct all our efforts at doing the things that were wisest for the future. I think most of our committee felt the same as I did, but it soon became manifest that the S. L. P.'s did not. To my astonishment Benham led off with a long written speech on the subject of party name, in which he attacked the name, Social Democratic Party, in a pettifoggish way. Some of the arguments were laughable, others were discreditable as coming from an avowed Socialist. It thus became evident that the S. L. P. intended to make the name an issue after all, and I was naturally indignant that our people should have been thus lured into our opponent's territory under false pretenses. I wondered what attitude Hilquit, Harriman and Hayes would take, and resolved that if they went back on their pledges that I would urge the withdrawal of our committee. When Benham had finished, Hilquit followed in his turn with an indorsement of Benham's arguments (the paper of Benham's had been prepared the night before, it appears, in a caucus held by the S. L. P. people. Our people held none, not supposing that we were there for sharp party bargainings). Later, Harriman, in a cautiously worded speech, also proved recreant to his pledges. As the floor had to be spoken for in advance, I then said that I wished to speak on the subject, but that I first wished to hear what Committeeman Hayes had to say (he having been loudest in his promises to work for the name, Social Democratic party). A moment later Hayes took up his hat and slipped quietly out of the hall, and he did not return during the balance of the session. It had now become late, and we had practically wasted a day in arguing over the name matter, when it had been understood that it was not to be subject for discussion. I therefore moved that the spectators, who almost crowded the hall, to suffocation, be asked to retire, as I had a matter I wished to bring forward, that for the sake of the S. L. P. members I preferred to have discussed in the presence of the committee only. I assured the spectators that they would know all that took place in proper time, as the committee was having shorthand notes taken of the entire proceedings. When the crowd had retired I took the floor and reviewed the meeting at Indianapolis and the reasons urged for holding the conference in New York, charging bad faith and broken pledges. A hot debate ensued, Harriman and Hilquit making the excuses for their conduct already known to you. Finally, as it was already well into the evening, an adjournment had to be taken, as the hall was rented for another purpose. I supposed that the majority of our committee would refuse to go on with the conference because of the trick played upon us, but at a caucus we held later in the evening I found that this was not to be expected. One or two of the members did not seem to grasp the true significance of the situation, and Comrades Haile and Stedman, and also Lonergan, felt practically as I did, but wanted to go on with the conference and thus get the full measure of the S. L. P. game. Alas! they got it in full and heaping measure! They had the privilege of seeing the plan adroitly laid to take the movement as far away as possible from the environment in which it had grown to lusty strength, the headquarters tucked away in a corner in easy reach of New York, the Social Democratic Herald throttled, and the name wiped off the slate, etc., etc.

I told them in our caucus that they would be tricked at every point, and that the conference had turned out to be a battle of wits instead of a sober-minded meeting in the true interests of the Socialist movement. If they went ahead they must not count on me. I lay awake a good share of the night thinking the situation over, and in the morning announced my decision to have nothing more to do with the conference. I was not able to persuade the others to take a like stand, however, but I predicted to them just about what the outcome proved to be.

So much for the unreported part of the conference. Now to other matters. Messrs. Harriman and Hilquit in their joint letter say I was satisfied with their explanation as to their broken promises. This is not true, and I am forced to say that they knew it was not when they wrote it. Benham says Hayes did not attack the name S. D. P. But that was not Hayes' offense. Instead of supporting the name vigorously, as he promised, he printed a few perfunctory lines in his paper, and at the conference ran away when specially called on to express himself on the subject. His excuse is that he had to speak at certain meetings. What sort of an excuse is this? Harriman and Hilquit conveniently quote from the stenographic report of the conference. Why has that stenographic report been withheld from the members of both parties? The S. L. P. has the report, the stenographer being employed in Hilquit's office. Are there things in it (such, for instance, as the rabid speeches of Sieverman and Stone) that they wish to suppress?

Comrade Butcher says Comrade Berger violated a great trust by not attending the conference, and that he should have notified the committee that he could not be present, so some one

could be secured in his stead. This sounds well from a man whose vote helped make it impossible for Berger to be present. The fact is that Comrade Berger did not give up hope of being present until the committee was actually in session. I did not know when I left Milwaukee whether or not he might not be able to follow on a later train. It all depended on how matters went in his household. I told Butcher so when I reached New York. Perhaps he has forgotten.

The New York conference gave the lie to all the protestations of good and disinterested intentions made to us by the representatives of the S. L. P. and should put us on our guard in all future dealings with that party. We have in our keeping the integrity of the Social Democratic movement, and we must not undervalue the trust. The only way to an united Socialist movement in this country is through the steady, onward, self-respecting advance of the Social Democratic Party. These men who are so friendly and innocent now, that union will save their party from dissolution, were members and fellow-workers with our detractors, yet never raised a finger in protest. Why? Because at least some of them were themselves engaged in throwing mud at us. Did any one hear a protest from Job. Harriman or Moritz Hilquit? Or from Sieverman, Malkiel, LaMonte, Stone or Matchett? Only recently the last named referred to us as "a semi-socialistic party!" Harriman, until only recently, gave the attacks on us the sanction of his silence. He now asks us to believe that the S. L. P. on July 10 last put an end to the abuse of our party; but that is not true. "We put the man who was doing such work out of the party last July," he says (and this is still further untrue, as DeLeon was not put out of the party—the party split into two factions), "and repudiated his actions and methods." Is that true, Mr. Harriman? Let us see. Among those having seats of honor on the stage at the "Unification" meeting at Cooper Union shortly after the New York conference was Malkiel (my sentimental friend Butcher will probably insist that it is "Comrade" Malkiel). Now I want to quote briefly from an article of Malkiel's in the anti-DeLeon People of quite recent date, in which he calls the Social Democratic Party a middle-class party, made up of "Capitalist politicians out of a job, adventurers, political tricksters, working-men both honest and dishonest, etc." Debs, he says, was used as a cloak to get workingmen into the party, and then the fellow continues, "I will not refer to Debs or his personality, although much can be said which will throw a bright light upon subsequent events." Nor am I quoting the most miserable parts of his article, either. He speaks of our "unclean membership" and compares Debs with DeLeon!

The fact is that the split in the S. L. P. did not divide the sheep from the goats. It was a trial of strength for the mastery of the party machinery, and when the big fight was over the conduct of each faction showed how much alike they were. DeLeon called the Volkszeitung people "kangaroos," and the Volkszeitung people called the DeLeons "skunks." And even though the Volkszeitung people were on their frenzy that is now demanding union at any cost (and yet surprising, considering the prominence of the persons who descend to it), is found in the statement issued by the majority of the conference committee. It holds that the manifesto of the national board was a usurpation and then gives out this great scintillation of statesmanship: "And though no other reason existed, THIS ONE alone justifies the members of the S. D. P. in voting yes on the question of union."

Think of it! Upon such a petty reason as this men like Butcher, Lonergan, Hoehn, Carey and Chase would hang the fate of the Social Democratic Party.

As I write I find that the S. L. P. is rushing in a vote of its members on the report of the majority of the conference. See the game and the fairness of it! This shuts off a vote on a possible minority report and is also calculated to impress some of our emotional members of the great desire of the S. L. P. for union. We have in our midst men who think more of the S. L. P. than they do of their own party, and these will doubtless see nothing unfair in this conduct of the other side. But even if the plan for unification falls through, the S. L. P. will have won any way! It will have succeeded in bringing dissension into the ranks of its rival, and this will give it a chance for a little longer life than it could have otherwise expected. It will have "mussed us up" in the midst of a presidential year, and just at a time when we were ready to sweep everything before us. The S. L. P. is a bird of ill-omen. It has brought trouble to everything it has come in contact with. It remains to be seen how seriously we shall suffer from our brief experience.

Frederic Heath.

CLUBBING OFFERS

The Herald and Appeal to Reason .70
" " " Public Ownership .70
" " " Co-operator .70
Order from THEODORE DEBS,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADES UNIONS

In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic party the following general rules:

First—Join the union of your respective trade.

Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement.

Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.

Fourth—Educate your fellow-unionists on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.

Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them, individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic party.

Seventh—Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The Sixth Annual Issue of

The Labour Annual

Is now ready, edited and published by Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, England

The "American Section" (edited by Leonard D. Abbott) contains the following: "A Year's Work as Socialist Mayor," by John C. Chase; "A Year as Socialist Legislator," by James F. Carey; "Socialism in America During 1899," etc. There are full lists of American reformers, organizations and books. In all, there are over 60 original articles, and 46 portraits, including Carey, Goldman, Harron, Mayor Jones and John Swinburn. Cloth, 60 cts.; Paper 35 cts.

Send orders to LEONARD D. ABBOTT

336 W. 71st Street, New York

Have your card inserted in the BEAVER DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month. It will help you in the work in your locality.

Pocket Library of Socialism

1. Women and the Social Problem. By MAY WOOD BROWN. Shows that the emancipation of women will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism.
2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By WILLIAM H. NIXON. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.
3. Imprudent Parliaments. By ROBERT T. FORTNEY. A masterly answer to the argument that "prudence" could help the laborer.
4. Peckington's. By A. M. SIMONS. A study of the Union Stock Yards, Chicago; how nature and man are alike scientifically exploited.
5. Realism in Literature and Art. By CLARENCE S. DABROW. Shows how the workers of modern art and literature are helping on the new social order.
6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. SIMONS. Shows the inadequacy of the Single Tax as a remedy for the evils pointed out by Henry George.
7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By KARL MARX. The essence of the great philosopher's theory, in his own words.
8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. SIMONS. Tells how wage slavery began, what it is today and how the workers are going to free themselves. A condensed handbook of socialism.
9. The Flaw in the Working Class. By REV. CHARLES H. VALL, author of "Modern Socialism," in his own words.
10. Morals and Socialism. By CHARLES H. VALL. Shows how popular ideas of morals are manipulated in the interest of the capitalist class.
11. Socialist Songs. Sixteen good ones, fit times every one knows.
12. After Capitalism What? By REV. WILLIAM T. BROWN. A logical historical study showing that socialism must come as the result of forces now at work.
13. A Political Quack Doctor. By W. A. COREY. A socialist view of the "Prohibition" movement.

Daintily printed, five cents each, post-paid.

SPECIAL OFFER—For one dollar we will mail forty copies of the Pocket Library, all of one kind or assorted as preferred.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS

126 Washington St., CHICAGO

The Book You Need

PRINCIPLES OF

Scientific Socialism

By Rev. Charles H. Vall

Author "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways."

CONTENTS:

The Industrial Revolution. The Analysis of Values. The Origin of Surplus Value.

The Advantages of Socialism: Production, Distribution, Elimination of Unpleasant Occupations, Prevention of Waste, Elevation of Woman, Proper Care and Training of Children, Efficient Directors, Solution of the Monetary Question, Abolition of Taxation, Simplification of Government, Benefits to Capitalists, Benefits to Laborers.

The Evidence of the Moral Strength of Socialism: Restriction of Divorce; Prevention of Prostitution; Elimination of Crime; Prevention of Intemperance, Insanity, etc.

Poverty—Its Cause and Cure. Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery. Rent and Interest. The Law of Wages. The Law of Progress. Industrial Depressions and Commercial Crises. The Problem of Labor-Saving Machinery.

Popular Economic Errors: That Value is Determined by Capitalist Cost of Production; that the Interests of Laborers and Capitalists are identical; that Labor is Better Off Today than Ever Before; that Cheap Prices are Beneficial to Labor; that Foreign Markets are Beneficial to Labor; that Luxury is Beneficial to Labor; that Land Nationalization Would Solve the Social Question; that Extraneous Factors are the Chief Cause of Economic Want; that Socialism Would Thwart Inventions and Improvements; that Socialism Would Destroy Individuality. Conclusion and Index.

12mo, 236 Pages; Paper, 35c; Cloth, \$1.00.

SEND ORDERS TO

THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., CHICAGO

Headquarters for Literature.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

1. Liberty. Debs. 5c.
2. Merrie England. Blatchford. 10c.
3. Municipal Socialism. Gordon. 5c.
4. Prison Labor. Debs. 5c.
5. Socialism and the Future. Hyndman. 5c.
6. Gov't Ownership of Railways. Gordon. 5c.
7. Oration on Voltaire. Victor Hugo. 5c.
8. Evolution of Industry. Watkins. 5c.
9. Hard Times: Cause and Cure. Gordon. 5c.
10. Women: Past, Present and Future. Bebel. 25c.
11. The Red Light. Casson. 25c.
12. The Pullman Strike. Carwardine. 25c.
13. Co-Operative Commonweal. Gordon. 50c.
14. The New Economy. Grouland. \$1.25.

MECHANICAL AND ENGINEERING.

15. Progressive Examination of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Hill. 50c.
16. Locomotive Running Repairs. Hitchcock. 50c.
17. Simple Lessons in Drawing for the Shop. Reynolds. 50c.
18. Air Brake Practice. Phelan. \$1.00.
19. Ready Reference. Alexander. \$1.50.
20. Locomotive Running and Management. Sinclair. \$2.00.
21. Compound Locomotives. Woods. \$2.00.
22. Twenty Years with the Indicator. Pray. \$2.50.
23. Hand-Book of the Locomotive. Roper. \$2.50.
24. Notes on the Locomotive. Farney. \$1.50.

Note.—Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 in lots of 10 copies, 25 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$1.50. Nos. 2 in lots of 10 copies, 50 cents; in lots of 100 copies, \$2.50. Send orders to

DEBS PUBLISHING CO.,

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

NATIONAL FUND

The following is a list of comrades who have agreed, in response to the appeal of the National Executive Board, to contribute monthly for one year to the national fund. Other names will be added as they are received.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| CONNECTICUT | NEW YORK |
| Finsilver, N. H. Hartford | Fales, J. C. Bensonhurst |
| Holmes, B. Hartford | Abbott, L. D. New York |
| ILLINOIS | Butcher, Wm. Brooklyn |
| Stedman, S. Chicago | Thomas, E. H. New York |
| James Cox, Chicago | Kahner, Arthur. New York |
| P. P. Ayer, Chicago | Hein, F. W. New York |
| "A Friend," Chicago | Lonopoloy, Jas. New York |
| Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago | Panken, J. New York |
| Mrs. C. Brown, Chicago | Wayell, Chas. New York |
| "Chicago," Chicago | Mark Raphael, New York |
| James Wright, Chicago | Aaron N. Sodoff, New York |
| INDIANA | Phillip Gruber, New York |
| E. V. Debs, Terre Haute | Samuel W. New York |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Meade, T. F. Brooklyn |
| Flanders, P. B. Haverhill | NEW JERSEY |
| Cohen, A. Boston | Pankopf, Carl Jersey City |
| Parker, Levi, W. Newton | Karl Lindner, Newark |
| Monette, G. U. Brockton | "Comrade," Newark |
| Bosworth, W. F. Brockton | OHIO |
| Tate, Peter, Everett | Booyar, Jos. Cleveland |
| Hitchcock, D. G. Warren | Zorn, Julius, Cleveland |
| Goldman, S. Haverhill | Brann, F. Cleveland |
| Hough, E. W. Newton | Altenberndt, C. Cleveland |
| Chase, J. P. C. Haverhill | PENNSYLVANIA |
| Brown, J. W. Templeton | Lewis, J. H. Pittsburgh |
| Grier, L. Amesbury | F. W. Hirt, New York |
| Allen, Helen N. Lynn | NEW YORK |
| Kearns, Dr. J. A. Lynn | Enloe, Dr. R. H. Nashville |
| Carey, Jas. F. Haverhill | Hamilton, W. A. Nashville |
| MICHIGAN | Mahoney, Wm. Nashville |
| Kelher, S. Grand Rapids | TEXAS |
| MINNESOTA | Price, R. S. Houston |
| Geerwein, F. Red Lake Falls | WISCONSIN |
| MISSOURI | Berger, Y. L. Milwaukee |
| Flacher, Wm. St. Louis | Berger, E. H. Milwaukee |
| Fellner, Henry, St. Louis | Ziegler, E. Milwaukee |
| Enschel, Wm. St. Louis | Doerfler, John, Milwaukee |
| MARYLAND | Benham, G. Milwaukee |
| Jacobson, B. Baltimore | Atm, L. Milwaukee |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Meister, E. Milwaukee |
| Gordon, F. R. Manchester | Heumann, C. Milwaukee |
| Bowie, Geo. Manchester | Riddle, H. Milwaukee |
| Mallen, C. H. Somersworth | Boyle, J. Milwaukee |
| "Somersworth Branch" | Branch 4, Milwaukee |

The Union Label

on everything you buy is a guarantee that the producers thereof receive a fair rate of wages for their production. Insist on having the label